000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; the special woman's horsetail coiffure is not used here any longer; [302] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[1]; [755] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; [614] the term suku wung is used here (74)[2]; [784] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 614 178 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and they said at first that one could marry within the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they [124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration 166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

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877 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they are too old. This is a big reason why there is less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah family. This is clearly the area of least acculturation, although in agriculture and technology they are just as advanced if not more so than in the other areas. For example, witness the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here, and the mother's brother's daughter marriage still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions. Some of these are large and some are small. Some are for the family, and some are celebrated by larger units. Some are celebrated by the entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medicine man, mbako decided when one is needed. Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc., and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his trade from his father, but there are cases where such succession is not followed. There is one in Weol. However, they will never tell an outsider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all know who he is. However, even during a rite, he keeps in the background so that he can be kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the fear of the mission or the government or what? I couldn't get much about the latter, but I will try later. This is amazing!

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511 515 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really very true!

622 755 769 [443] On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at once I was taken into the rear part of the little warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

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622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
● 755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

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875 reason for this is that Mohammedans are not
797 educated enough to have many teachers yet. Thus, the mission has given Catholicism a big head start, as is the case in Ambon.

771 There are only about ten Mohammedans in Ro-
797 woreke. They had a mosque at kilometer five formerly, but it is gone now. The maximum number of converts in the kampong, to Mohammedanism, per year is from one to two. There is a chapel here, and the priest comes once a month to hear confessions, hold mass, etc. Otherwise, the people here go to Ndona for mass (I see them on Sunday walking; rain means nothing to these people). I get the impression that many people do not go to mass. For example, every Sunday I have been there, the kapitan and the assistant and many others do not go to church so far as I can see. And I don't see many women who look as though they had gone. I should have asked about this.

778 There are two ancestor grave-bone shrines, i.e., one in Roworeke and one in Watu Roga. There are also plenty of stones and the usual graves. There has never been a real rumah berhala here. But Manunggo'o had one.

527 The principal feast time is at planting. The tuan tanah (mosa laki mere) must be there at that time. There is no illness exorcism
• [755] feast held any more. Thanksgiving feasts for good crops are held privately, not communally. There is a great feast for rebuilding the grave-bone shrine.

788 There is plenty of private pagan rituals, for example, to ward off illness, to make offerings to trees, and the dukun stuff. In addition, there is the bisa mari. (Having seen the dukun
[753] and how he diagnoses, I understand Migo when he said that he has a personal-family buffalo totem taboo because the dukun said it caused his illness.)